

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
AND
THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE
UNITED STATES**

OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. —That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. —That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. —That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. —That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. —That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. —That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. —That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. —THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqtrs.

These six parties adhere to the same Socialist Principles:

- SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — P. O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia;
Sydney, Australia, Box 2291, GPO.
- SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — P. O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN — 52 Clapham High St., London SW. 4.
- SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND — P. O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand;
P. O. Box 1929, Auckland, New Zealand.
- WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND—53 High St., Rm. 5, Belfast 1, N. Ireland
- WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF U. S.—295 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115.

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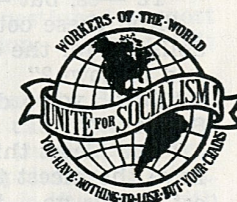
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Tobacco, Economics & Health

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CALLOUS CAPITALISM

Health has nothing so seductive to offer as do
the poisons and disease which are an essential con-
dition for those who own and rule.



The Night Before Xmas

"What are you dashing about like that for, Santa? Haven't I told you dozen of times it's bad for your heart?"

"Please, Sarah, there's nothing the matter with my heart. I have work to do. Don't you know what night this is?"

"Of course I know what night this is. It's — it's — Heavens, it's the night before Christmas! How could I have forgotten!"

"Yes, it's the night before Christmas and you're holding me back with your empty chatter."

"You must let me help you pack, Santa. My, what lovely toys you have. And so many."

"Yes, my boys and I did a wonderful job this year. Here, hold the bag while I put these in."

"That toy limousine — isn't it beautiful! It must have been costly to build. Who's it for, Santa?"

"Let me see. It's marked here, someplace. Oh yes, it's for a little boy who lives on top of the hill. Name escapes me at the moment. But I'll remember it. Splendid family. Oceans of wealth."

"And the tiny wooden sailboat — who is this for?"

"Well, there's a family of poor people at the other end of town. In fact, there are many — ah — underprivileged children there and I have a lot of little things for them."

"But no limousines."

"Well, the children can't all have limousines, can they?"

"I suppose not. What a lovely party dress! What little girl would not give the world to own it! Who is this for, Santa?"

"Well — um — ah —"

"Oh, yes, I know; it's for some little girl on top of the hill, isn't it?"

"Ye — es, but —"

"And these cotton hankies and rag dolls are for the children at the other end of town?"

"Now you don't understand, Sarah —"

"The nicest things go to those who have the nicest things and the poorest things go —"

"Don't jump to conclusions! Let me explain. It's like this — Goodness, it's getting late; I have to go! Don't wait up for me, dear; I'll be home about dawn. C'mon, Prancer! C'mon, Dancer! C'mon, Rudolph! Away we go!"

The sleigh bells tinkled cheerfully, speeding over the silent snow; but Sarah was sure the Santa's "Ho, ho, ho!" coming back through the starry night, had a hollow sound.

J. M.

News from Austria

Dear Comrades:

Now here are a few words on the Austrian scene. One of the more important events was the defeat of the big professed "Socialist" party at the last Parliamentary Election, and the ousting of all their ministers from government jobs, which the out-and-out Conservatives filled with their own men.

Soon afterwards the spectre of the return of Otto v. Habsburg filled the newspapers, until the return of a more serious and menacing visitation befell the country — the floods, which were even more devastating now than last year. No doubt, you read about this disaster in your newspapers. It is characteristic of capitalism that the resources and reserves available in abundance in our highly industrialized communities cannot immediately be mobilized and placed at the disposal of the victims. Sanctified private property and rentability forbid the free use of human comforts, whatever the emergency! So surviving victims of natural

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OFFICIAL NOTICE

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Editorial Committee Views the News

The "Off-Year" Elections

American elections must present a confusing spectacle to the populations of other lands. It would seem, indeed, from the results that they are equally confusing to most American voters. Certainly, there is excitement in the air during and especially at wind-up of a national election — even off-year campaigns for state offices and for Congress — and yet, in the main, elections have become contests among candidates in fruitless search of conflicting issues. Other than those few races where office-seekers sought votes on the basis of segregation vs. integration as was, generally, the case in the gubernatorial election in Arkansas in which the "liberal" winner (Winthrop Rockefeller) is a Republican, there was nothing of importance to choose between the rivals other than their personalities. Could one really put a finger on the difference in philosophy, for example, between Edward W. Brooke and Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts? Brooke, the first Negro to be elected to the U. S. Senate in 85 years (and the 1st Negro Senator elected by popular vote) in no way symbolizes a victory for the forces of Negro Civil Rights. In his years as Attorney-General he successfully straddled that issue and is not overly popular among Negro Civil Rights enthusiasts even though he took great care to snub Barry Goldwater during the 1964 campaign. Mr. Peabody is, if anything, more universally recognized as a staunch champion of Negro "rights" than is Mr. Brooke. Never-

theless, Brooke is a Negro and, whatever his feelings may be privately he does not have a public image as one opposed to Negro civil rights.

On the other hand there has been some attempt on the part of the media of "information" to show a difference between Mr. Brooke's position on Vietnam with that of Mr. Peabody's. But here again the difference is largely imaginary. Mr. Brooke, it is explained, is not altogether pleased with the ways in which President Johnson conducts war policy and attempts to find paths to "peace." The new Senator has pointed out during his campaign that he is more in sympathy with the views as expressed by U.N. Ambassador Goldberg in his recent plea to the United Nations. And yet, who is obtuse enough to believe that Mr. Goldberg would present views to the U. N. that in any way, shape, or form conflict with those of Lyndon John-

(See box on next page)

son? Mr. Peabody did, indeed, attempt to establish during his debate with Mr. Brooke that Brooke is in variance with the Administration's prosecution of the Vietnam War and simply got slapped down for his effort. No, indeed, Mr. Brooke is not opposed to American objectives in Vietnam but simply believes that he can do more toward bringing about an "honorable" peace there than those who give unquestioned support to the Administration. At least this is what he says.

So the Brooke-Peabody Senatorial contest, as is the case with most election contests in these times, was in the main a popularity contest. And Mr. Brooke, as is the case with

most of the Republican victors in 1966, carries the image of "liberal" because he is a practical politician and understands that the old party labels are not too significant in an era that calls for a "liberal" philosophy on how capitalism should best be operated. Even Mr. Reagan, the new Governor of California, was obliged to erase much of his Goldwater coating in order to gain the support of the California Republican organization and the huge plurality of California votes on November 8. It remains to be seen how far he

Under Washington dateline (N. Y. Times, Nov. 13) Neil Sheehan discloses in a special dispatch that the language used in Mr. Goldberg's U.N. speech was designed to convey a different meaning than what some politicians professed to believe. Sec'y McNamara's principal Deputy for International Security Affairs, Townsend Hoopes, in a letter in late October written in behalf of Sec'y McNamara stated that the "Defense Department believes Ambassador Goldberg's speech includes the intent that Vietcong military units would be deactivated in any proposed withdrawal of external forces from South Vietnam."

And Neil Sheehan's dispatch makes no bones about describing the terms of the Manila Conference as terms which "informed observers do not believe (that) Hanoi will, within the foreseeable future at least, accept..."

can stray from policies of his "liberal" predecessor in office, Governor Brown (Dem.).

"DOWN WITH HIGH PRICES"

A spectre haunts the managements of super-markets throughout America, the spectre of women carrying picket signs outside their doors in a battle against the high cost of living. And, yet, this is not by any means a disreputable type of activity in the opinion of the capitalist class, generally, and its opinion moulders. Certainly, the spokesmen of the

nation are anxious to explain the "facts" of economic life to the marching women, to offer them all sorts of good reasons — along with their sympathy — for the rising food costs. But it is all done with a kindly feeling, a lack of the sort of hostility one sees and feels in the air during a strike by workers for more wages.

And why shouldn't there be a more friendly attitude toward this type of a protest? Certainly, the smaller grocers — especially the "mama and papa"-type two-by-four shops take the brunt of the boycotts while the larger and more efficient super-markets find ways — such as eliminating the trading stamps, games, etc. — of cutting prices and getting more business. The point is, however, that the parading pickets are not demanding more *wages* — and this is a factor of great importance to the owners.

On the other hand, there could even arise a more calamitous situation. Supposing the women of America (and the world) and their men, too, were to discover that the basic robbery of the majority of the population does not take place in the merchandising establishments at all but in the factories, the mines, the farms, the timber lands, and wherever goods and services are produced. That the pay they receive for carrying on all of this production and distribution is only equal, on the average, to the quantity of goods they can purchase — the goods that enable them to live, carry on their functions as workers, and reproduce themselves. That the very abilities they sell are in the same category as the eggs, butter, steaks, and beer that stock the grocery shelves, just another commodity. And that this condition in which they find themselves can hardly be attributable to high prices since it existed throughout their lives, generally speaking, even during times when prices were considerably lower.

Supposing a light were to suddenly dawn upon them. They would discover the relationship between wages

(and salaries) and prices in general. They would realize that the price of their own commodity is regulated by the prices of the commodities required to manufacture and reproduce their own commodity — and no more. Armed with information of this sort the angry working-class women — and men — of America and the world in general might take different action. They might organize on the political front to vote out of existence the economic system that forces them to merchandise their very brains and brawn for the price of the groceries, clothing, shelter and other requisites for the production of commodity labor-power.

This would be something for the capitalists to really worry about.

MAN-MADE AND NATURAL DISASTERS

War must be placed in the category of man-made disaster. It is not, by any means, the only such example. The recent tragedy in Aberfans, Wales, in which a whole generation of children was killed — buried alive by a falling mountain of coal debris that their miner-fathers helped build behind their homes was another such instance.

But the common denominator to war and a mining disaster is not essentially the fact that they are both man-made. It is, rather, that they are both the products of capitalism. For what reason would mankind murder itself in war when goods and services will no longer be produced for sale with view to profit? The abolition of this base would carry with it the abolition of the drive for markets, the search for raw materials with which to maintain commodity production, the need for strategic military bases, in fact, the very abolition of nations. There would be, in fact rather than merely in lip-service, one world.

And, once man has established a sane system of society what reason could he possibly have for the erection of a mountain of coal waste behind his very home? In fact, what possible

reason could there be for the very existence of a coal-mining industry in an age when atomic-power is feasible and practical? Who or what was responsible for the disaster at Aberfans? One answer was the running stream of water beneath the waste-mountain that caused it to move. Another was the words of one anguished miner-father who is quoted as demanding that "the Coal Board" be registered as the official cause on his child's death certificate.

Neither of these answers, however, is adequate. The miners of Britain's nationalized coal mines may still believe that "their" industry and "their" government has something to do with socialism. To the extent that they do they merely reflect their misunderstanding of the basic facts of society. The mines of England, regardless of the nature of their ownership, are engaged in the extraction of coal to be sold on the market with a view to profit. And the very fact that the homes of the miners themselves are located at the very edge of disaster is simply because British capitalism claims it can "afford" to pay them only enough to live the way they do. The Welsh miners could possibly demand and receive enough of an increase in wages to enable them to live better, and at safer distances from their work. But how much more practical would it be were they to also seek out our comrades of the Socialist Party of Great Britain for information on the real nature of the British economy and the political party that runs it today. Whatever wage increases they might wrest would be fine. But the important job remains — the abolition of the wage system in its entirety.

* * *

Man, of course, had nothing to do with the overflow of the Arno River in Northern Italy. Nor can one blame this occurrence on the capitalist system. It is noteworthy, however, that the bulk of the suffering due to natural disasters is borne by the poor — those who are compelled to work for wages and whose wages are

only sufficient to maintain them in a condition of impoverishment.

Art lovers will lament, and with good reason, the incalculable loss to the world of some of the famous old works in the museum of Florence. And statisticians will continue to provide figures in dollars and cents of the stupendous loss to Italy's economy. An Associated Press dispatch from Rome (November 9, Boston Globe) cites Government estimates as high as 20% (about \$2.5 billion) of the Italian national budget. The shops of Venice and Florence, gutted by water; the fertile fields ruined by salt water; the estimate of 80% of livestock in

Tuscany dead in the fields; all give mute testimony to the awful power of natural disasters.

But socialists must, nevertheless, note that it is the many poor rather than the few wealthy who suffer the most. The owners can count their loss in dollars and cents, generally speaking, and continue to live well while bewailing their ill fortune. The workers — of city and farm, alike — must bear the brunt and count their losses in deaths, accidents, sickness, and hunger.

So even when natural disaster strikes, capitalism makes life miserable — even more miserable — for the poor.

TOBACCO, ECONOMICS, AND HEALTH

To smoke or not to smoke; that is the question that has been asked with increasing frequency in the last few years. There are good and sufficient reasons why such a query is to the fore.

Many discoveries have been made in the human organism, as well as in the chemical compounds and processes of plant life in recent times. Physiological investigators of varying degrees of competency have probed the effects of certain plants on the human body, and have come up with definite conclusions regarding what they found.

In this connection, the tobacco plant has been the recipient of special favors. Its nutritional and medical values, never highly esteemed, are now emphasized solely on the negative side. When the leaves of this plant are seasoned, cured, and fabricated into cigarettes, pipe mixture, or chewing composition, they exert an injurious influence on the human system. Tobacco has long been suspected of contributing to endemic infirmities. We are told that its bad traits take precedence over the good.

For the record, whether the accusations anent tobacco are true or false, there are other dangers and threats to humanity more sinister

and potent than any listed in the tobacco dossier that still await social attention. It is well to enumerate a few of these.

MORE SINISTER HAZARDS

Every portion of the earth has been drenched with radioactive fallout from H-bomb tests. The frozen North is one of the hottest spots on the map for ingestion of radiation in the human body through the food. Caribou meat has long been the main article of diet for the people in this region. The radiation count in their blood and flesh has been accumulating since the first atomic bomb shattered the silence in the atmosphere. The caribou is an animal that feeds on lichens and sedges. These plants get their nourishment from the air, and in this way absorb the radioactive fallout to which they are made captive. It soaks into them like ink into blotting paper. When the Eskimos eat the caribou meat the radiation is passed on from lichen to caribou to man.

The sunny South is subject to the same infiction. Dr. Robert Conrad, the Government specialist in charge of treating Marshall Islanders 12 years after they were "accidentally" drenched with the radioactive fall-

out from an American H-bomb test in the Pacific, reports to the Atomic Energy Commission that a significant number of the inhabitants are beginning to show thyroid gland abnormalities that cause stunted and deformed bodies among the children exposed to the atomic blasts.

In between those global extremes, prying experts find that venomous fallouts penetrate the roots of the grass which provide forage for the cows that in turn supply the milk that constitutes the main element in our children's food.

In addition to this, the use of pesticides sprayed on fruits and berries; the pollution of streams and lakes with garbage and the residues of DDT, and related compounds, are bringing us into daily intimacy with poisonous chlorinated hydrocarbons in aquatic and agricultural edibles on which we depend for sustenance and survival.

DANGERS vs PROFITS

It will be noted that the hazardous and menacing visitations mentioned are group-or class-controlled. No individual is capable of divorcing himself from the impact of atomic explosions or contaminated air and water. But in the case of tobacco there are surface indications that the user can exercise a major degree of volition in respect to whether he smokes or not. We can take it or leave it alone, but we generally take it.

Government agencies, always slow to intrude where the question of profits arises, took 12 years investigation before reaching the conclusion that tobacco exerts a baneful sway on the body organs. A study was made involving observation of more than a million persons during this period before conceding that disease and death were promoted and hastened by the use of tobacco.

The Federal Advisory Committee of the U. S. Public Health Service issued a report in 1964, affirming that there was a close relationship of cigarette smoking to various ailments.

SPECIAL APPEAL!

WE NEED FUNDS IMMEDIATELY

The statement was made that smoking contributed substantially to certain specific maladies chiefly in the pulmonary and bronchial areas.

This report, entitled "Smoking and Health," tells us that lung cancer, bronchitis, and atrophy of the blood vessels, with loss of elasticity of lung tissue, were all assisted in the process of decay by the use of tobacco. The study disclosed that the death rate from coronary diseases, as well as the rate per 1,000 of all causes, was much greater in the case of regular smokers than in that of those who left the luring weed completely alone. In the opinion of the Committee, even the scourge of atmospheric pollution, and occupational exposure were small things compared to the havoc wrought by heavy smoking.

With this horrendous charge of human decline and extinction hurled against cigarettes, and the tobacco industry in general, it would surely be expected that legislation would be invoked to remove once and for all this flagrant blight on mortal existence.

If a social system functioned, where wealth was to be used for the benefit of the people who comprised the society, it is only a common sense corollary that anything injurious and deadly to the population would be weeded out and banished like slugs and thistles from a growing garden. There would be no incentive to retain anything harmful to body or mind. All that would be necessary to ensure ejection would be the knowledge that the condition was damaging to social comfort.

But in a system of sale and profit the scene changes. While the melody is supposed to faithfully follow the score, the accompaniment is often harsh and discordant. It is interesting and instructive to observe the moves that are being made.

SMOKING BAD! SMOKING GOOD!

The U.S. Government itself is divided on the issue. One precinct is in conflict with another. While the Department of Health emphasizes the iniquities of the smoking habit, the Department of Agriculture subsidizes the tobacco farmers to increase production.

In conjunction with the Hollywood firm of Warner Bros., the Department of Agriculture has spent \$210,000 on a filmed commercial, shrewdly entitled "The World of Pleasure" — the purpose of the film is to boost the sale of cigarettes, made from American tobacco, in foreign lands. It doesn't matter how many of those gullible foreigners fall victims to cancer. It helps to reduce the population explosion. It also assists in keeping the delicate balance of payments on a lower level.

Congress, playing the Solomon role between the two battling departments, came to an ambivalent verdict. Two measures were passed to ease the tension. One ordered printed warnings to be placed on all cigarette packages indicating that the contents *may* be dangerous to health. The other subsidizing the farmers to grow more and better tobacco.

On the tobacco issue it is well to note that there is not an entire unanimity of opinion. There are many physicians, whose reputations are as flawless as their profession permits, who contend that the moderate use of tobacco is not only harmless but helpful. They assert that it enhances sensuous enjoyment, and acts as a needed brake on the central nervous system.

The Council for Tobacco Research, supported by the tobacco industry, reports that it has spent more than 7 million dollars, in ten years, for research into the relation of cigarette smoking to cancer, and has found nothing in the way of reason or proof to convince them that there is any intimate connection between the two.

However, the industry, responsive no doubt to the weight of evidence

adduced in opposition to their researches, have made a definite move on their own account to assist the authorities by policing themselves. The drastic reduction in sales following Surgeon General Terry's report stimulated action. In the first quarter of 1964, while the public was still pondering on the bad news, there was a sharp drop in sales that recorded a cash register loss of almost a billion cigarettes. The warning of health hazard hit the industry hard.

"ETHICAL" PROPAGANDA

During the interim that denoted decreasing profits, the tobacco people hired ex-Governor Meyner, of New Jersey, to administer a code which the nine leading cigarette manufacturers had agreed on to curb some of their offensive tactics.

This code stated that they would no longer direct advertising at persons under 21 years of age by such inferences as "separating the men from the boys." They would not make any suggestion that you would have to go around with a cigarette in your face to prove that you were a person of social prominence, sexual attractiveness, or personal distinction. They would cease and desist the use of pictures of eminent athletes who succeeded in making more touchdowns or homeruns through the simple expedient of switching from one brand of cigarettes to another. Big fines were in the offing for any company brazen enough to violate the code.

But the appalling abstention in the case of cigarette consumption didn't last long. They were soon back stronger than ever determined to make up for lost time. In most sections of the country a 30-day continence sufficed to absolve the penitent smokers from their self-conviction. In the few places where a fractional decrease was registered, the slight decline was attributed to a higher tax on cigarettes rather than to any health scare.

The Department of Health, not satisfied with dependence on the voluntary scheme of the manufac-

turers, organized a mammoth campaign of its own to get the sale and smoking of cigarettes reduced to an adequate minimum. An amalgamation of more than a dozen charitable and public institutions, under the name of "The National Interagency Council in Smoking Health," carried the fight to all fronts.

Considering the adults who smoke to be an obstinate resistance to their efforts, the Council aimed its drive at the youngsters to keep them from acquiring the habit, or to get them to quit before smoking became a way of life. The schools were regarded as the most effective forum, as it is here that children habitually assemble and can easily be reached. Then, too, there would be no opposition to teaching on this subject such as would be sure to arise when introducing a controversial book like the Bible or Fanny Hill.

After a year of experience in the novel campaign, the results were nothing to rave about. In the kindergarten section they were 100 per cent successful. They probably would have attained the same outcome without a campaign at all. In the grade schools the picture was spotty. It remained largely as it was. The young ones showed signs of following in the footsteps of their fag smoking parents. In the high school and the colleges the drive didn't make a dent in the smoking customs. The big money expenditure on the conversion from vice to virtue paid no cultural dividends.

PROFITS BEFORE FACTS

As usual, when facts collide with profits it is just too bad for the facts. Real as they may be they are bound to suffer.

Tobacco plants are grown, harvested, and marketed in 20 states in the union. In some of these they are a minor matter, merely acting as subsidiaries to the main crops. In others, such as North Carolina and Kentucky, tobacco has long been the chief production.

It is the fifth most important agricultural yield in the nation as a

whole, and the third from the top in the list of farm exports. It can readily be understood that the Department of Agriculture, anxious to promote production for domestic and foreign markets, would not be likely to dwell too long or too heavily, on the health aspect of the subject. Its objective is guidance for profit, not health.

Important as the agricultural phase of the study happens to be, it is not the only economic category involved. Next, we can look at the manufacturing industry where the raw plants are fashioned into the finished article.

Close to 600 factories are kept busy turning out more than 500 billion cigarettes every year to accommodate the needs of home and foreign trade. As many as 100,000 workers are employed in these widespread factories, and the payment for wages alone amounts to \$400 million a year.

Advertising is one of the large and necessary expenses in the tobacco business. The values and virtues of the commodity must be continuously dinned into the receptive ears. The advertising costs in the newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, and billboards has reached the impressive figure of \$200 million a year, and shows no inclination to remain on that base. To offset the health stampede initiated by the Surgeon General's Report, a larger war chest was imperative. When Government power and prestige are utilized to derogate the worth of the commodity placed on the market, there is only one effective means of combatting the attack, and that one is money.

It could scarcely be expected that the communication media, already lavishly supplied with tobacco dollars, would attempt to stifle the source from which their revenues were derived. A bigger cash outlay was the obvious answer.

More than two million wholesalers and retailers of tobacco products are scattered across the nation, and those whose living depends upon the profits realized in buying and selling are not likely to use their influence

in downgrading the goods in which they traffic. Many of these dealers may be conscious of the injurious nature of what they peddle, but economic pressures assuage moral or idealistic impulses.

Other items of monetary import connected with the tobacco industry, involving the expenditure of relatively large sums, can be found in the list of such adjuncts as cellophane, filter gimmicks, wrapping paper, and aluminum foil. Small, they appear in individual cases, their combined costs in tobacco manufacturing reaches into millions of dollars.

It is no difficulty to comprehend that an industry of such dimension, branching out into every state, and making its influence felt in foreign lands, would be capable of meeting any assault directed against it. Plans may be laid by organizations with imposing titles like The National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health, and The Federal Trade Com-

mission, to reduce the consumption of tobacco products, and put severe curbs on the industry's advertising, but even their best efforts are inane and sterile. The opposing interests suffice to nullify their aims and intentions.

Even the state and federal authorities, in the disputes among the Health, Agricultural, and Commerce departments, are inclined to lend the listening ear to the sections which provide billions of dollars every year in the form of taxes. Health has nothing so seductive to offer.

Capitalism has no solution for social ills. It can only nurture and enlarge them. The poisons and diseases that confront us are an essential condition for the prosperity of those who own and rule. Only an intelligent working class can eliminate the social distress. Our drive is directed to this consummation.

J. A. MacDONALD

THE LAW ON TRIAL

One cold morning around Christmastime I stood in the district court of C. . . . , criminal session. In the bustling commercial district merchants smiled as cash registers tingled — Christians were celebrating the birth of their God, the Prince of Peace, the Savior of the Poor. Outside a cold wind howled mercilessly over a bleak landscape. Inside another cold wind swept just as mercilessly over the bleak human landscape assembled there.

Entering the dingy building which conveniently housed both the police station and the courtroom, I noticed a plaque on the wall which boasted that this building was one of the fruits of the public works program instituted under President F. D. Roosevelt's New Deal. I also noticed outside the window the decrepit buildings that housed the people who had placed their faith in the New Deal. The priorities of the New Deal were plain to see — an emphasis on public works meant police stations and law courts before housing.

In the courtroom itself, everyone was quietly sitting in his assigned place as if all were actors waiting for the curtain to rise on a tragedy. A uniformed attendant went into the corridor to announce that the wheels of justice were about to move.

HIS HONOR, THE JUDGE

"Courrrrt in session."

He returned to the courtroom. The curtain rose.

The floor was dirty and worn. So were most of the people sitting on the benches in the back of the room. None of them had suits and ties on; most wore grimy work clothes and sat holding tightly to the overcoats in their laps. A wooden railing divided these people from those in the front of the room.

In front of the railing policemen in blue uniforms and lawyers in business suits sat on chairs. Over the backs of their heads the face of the red-nosed clerk stared from behind his desk. He was clearly visible because his desk rested upon a platform

raised several inches above the floor.

The head reaching the closest to the ceiling — and the furthest from the dirty floor — belonged to the presiding magistrate, His Honor Justice M. . . . , a former state senator and servant of the people. He owed his exalted, not to say god-like position, to the fact that his huge desk rested on a platform or stage raised several feet above the lowly floor. Actually, in spite of his heightened position, he was a small man.

I thought, how amazing are the constructions of men! For here, thanks to the labor of men like those sitting in the back of the room, a small man is clothed with authority and sits in judgment high above his fellows.

THE PRISONER AT THE BAR

The clerk stood and announced the appearance of the next actor with the words "the Commonwealth versus George Panos."

I heard a sound towards the right side of the room and then I noticed the prisoners' dock separated from the rest of us by a wooden wall several feet high. Suddenly, the figure of a large, handsome man appeared over the prisoners' dock. In spite of his shabby clothes and a day's growth of beard on his face, I was strikingly impressed by the dignity of his bearing. He had a finely chiseled face with classical Greek features and his expression was not one of fear or apology but of calm interest.

The clerk continued to read the complaint without raising his eyes to meet the cool dark eyes of citizen Panos. The gist of the complaint was that the defendant was accused of having been drunk and disorderly. A policeman described how he had noticed the defendant loitering and how after he had been told to move on, the defendant gave a flip answer and then walked away singing in a loud voice. An odor of alcohol was detected on his breath.

"What do you say to this complaint, guilty or not guilty?"

"Guilty, sir," came a firm steady voice.

The judge turned away and with a look of disdain asked, "Do you have a job?"

"No. . . . sir."

I winced slightly because I knew that the court, as the judge is called, should have been addressed as "Your Honor." It must have irritated the judge not to have been allowed his honorable title for he said, "Won't work, eh?"

The interested gaze continued unbroken for a moment. The fine features looked as if he was waiting for his antagonist to speak some profound lines. A silence that did not seem awkward followed.

"Yesterday I was celebrating my release from the House of Correction."

I tried to picture this wonderful house in my mind and how the erring were corrected there but I could not do so.

The judge glanced at a piece of paper in front of him and said nervously "You've got quite a record, haven't you?"

"Yes." The prisoner agreed with the indisputable fact but no note of apology was noticeable in his voice — and "no sir" was tacked on.

The judge shifted positions nervously and then looked up at the audience in the back of the courtroom. Some old feeling of the politician in front of the crowd must have stirred in him. With a sudden grimace of distaste he began again in a voice tinged with emotion.

"The trouble with people like you is there's nothing we can do for you."

Prisoner Panos looked as if he did not care to have them do anything for him.

"You'll be back in trouble as soon as we let you out. You won't work. There's nothing we can do." His Honor warmed to his task, "... except to shoot you and," softly as if in surprise at the law's leniency "... the law won't let us do that."

The prisoner was silent and seemed to contemplate the words as if

weighing what answer he would give in his part of this Socratic dialogue.

The justice was silent a second and then he continued quickly as if he had suddenly remembered his lines.

"Shoot you, that's the only solution. What other alternative do we have?"

I thought that the question might indeed give the prisoner a chance for significant comment. Citizen Panos brightened and spoke with confidence.

"I have a request. Could I be sent to the State Farm?"

"Oh I see, free room and board there — and not too much work, eh?"

"No, they give us enough work... but it's useful work."

The courtroom was very silent. Useful work — growing food — on the inside. On the outside no work was offered him. After all, he was not a judge and could not do his work; nor, I doubted whether he thought this sort of work of much use.

The judge sensed that his adversary was stealing the show and he thought how he could recoup.

"Well, we like to give our customers what they want," he chuckled nervously. A big smirk crossed the judge's face. The clerk guffawed. Everyone else was silent.

"Six months at the State Farm."

The clerk stood up in all his dignity and read the sentence and advised the prisoner that he had a right to appeal. I thought that since six months was rather severe for so slight a crime, perhaps there would be an appeal. However, there was no reply and the police officer then escorted the prisoner out a side door.

JUSTICE & THE LAW

The next scene began as the last. A name was called and a complaint read. The prisoner here however was a thin young man with bruises on his face. He also was found drunk and disorderly and pleaded guilty. A police officer explained that the prisoner had been discovered lying on the ground injured and had to be taken to the hospital.

His Honor surveyed the prisoner suspiciously.

"What happened? Did you get in a fight?"

The blank face of the prisoner then showed some embarrassment.

"I'm an epileptic, Your Honor, and I guess the drinking caused a fit."

"And they took you to the hospital?"

"Yes."

"Did you pay for the treatment?"

This was asked in a tone that showed anticipation of triumph.

"No," he said apologetically.

"He had twenty dollars in his wallet," the policeman volunteered.

"What! Twenty dollars! Enough for drink but not enough for the hospital bill! Are you married?"

"Yes."

"Well, if we put you away I suppose your family will go on relief and be an expense to us." A thought reentered the judge's mind. "What can we do with you people? Shoot you, that's all!"

"But I have a job, Your Honor," was the hopeful reply. Surely, they would not want to shoot a man who had a job!

Once again the judge felt himself bested. "Well, I find you guilty." The judge was still trying to recoup. "I remember when I was a senator, we were on this committee that made a trip to inspect the state prison. Ya know all the guys would try to talk to you and tell you that they weren't guilty. They'd all been framed! Hah! A whole prison full of men who weren't guilty. Imagine that!"

The preposterousness of this idea must have impressed the judge since he recalled the incident after all his years in public service. Well, here was one who was surely guilty — he even admitted it.

"I'll give you ten dollars fine but we'll check in one week and that hospital bill had better be paid..."

Since, after paying the fine the defendant would still be blessed with ten dollars, the bill would be paid and justice done. That's justice and that's the law! — guilty or not guilty?

W. J.

Gems from American History

DYNAMITE IN LOS ANGELES (1910)

Labor unions exist as means and instruments which, when used for their historic purpose, enable workers to wage the class struggle on the economic front in an organized manner. They serve as bargaining agents — since there is strength in union — in the constant struggle of the working class to maintain or to better standards of wages and conditions of work, generally. The chief weapon, with notable exceptions, in the arsenal of labor unions has always been, and still remains, the strike (including such secondary adjuncts as the boycott). One notable exception to this general rule has been the judicious or injudicious use (according to the views of the observer) of dynamite. In the early years of this century the dynamiting of newly-constructed bridges and other such structures of steel that had been built by non-union labor became a relatively regular occurrence in various parts of the United States without, however, the accompaniment of loss of life. The culmination of this type of activity which was generally attributed to labor unions — although never openly admitted before 1911 by any spokesman of labor — came with the bombing of "The Los Angeles Times" and the consequent death of 21 workers in the early morning hours of October 1, 1910. The statement of Harry E. Andrews, managing editor of the daily spelled out clearly that which lay behind the bombing, as did the words of his employer, General Harrison Gray Otis. Mr. Andrews declared:

"The Times building was destroyed by dynamite this morning by the enemies of industrial freedom. The 'Times' itself cannot be destroyed. It will be re-issued from its auxiliary plant and will fight its battle to the last." (our emphasis.)

The very existence of an auxiliary plant underscored the fears of the "Times" owners and managers that it would, sooner or later, be bombed. And the doughty General Otis who

was accustomed to ride around Los Angeles, a cannon mounted on his car, as if to advertise his continuing battle against the attempts to unionize his city, editorialized as follows:

"Oh you anarchic scum, you cowardly murderers, you leeches upon honest labor, you midnight assassins..." (quoted by L. Adamic in "My America" p. 18).

This first post-bombing edition, which appeared with almost no delay, bore the banner heading: "UNIONIST BOMBS WRECK THE 'TIMES.'" Who else, reasoned the General, could have been responsible other than labor unions and it only remained to find the guilty parties. The events of the following fourteen months were such as to shake the very foundations of labor union organization in America, not to mention the effect on the so-called Socialist Party, in general, and its influence in California, in particular. Symbolizing the forces that warred one with another in this important chapter of American history were "great" protagonists of Labor, Law, "Socialism," Industry, Journalism, and the institution of the "Private Eye." The names, statements, and activities of Samuel Gompers, Clarence Darrow, Job Harriman, E. V. Debs, General Otis and the owners of National Erectors' Association, Lincoln Steffens, and William J. Burns (of the Burns Detective Agency) stand out in the saga of the dynamited newspaper building and the trial of John J. and James B. McNamara in Los Angeles in the final months of 1911. The sensational and sudden ending of the trial on December 1 resulted in widespread confusion in the ranks of organized labor and thousands of red faces among the so-called "Reds" of the Socialist Party of America.

GUMSHOES ON THE SCENT

In McClure's magazine for January, 1912, detestive Burns tells the story

of how he caught the dynamiters and, in the course of his article, has some unkind remarks about organized labor's activities, in general; James B. McNamara (the dynamiter); his brother J. J. McNamara, (secretary of the Structural Steel and Iron Workers' Union), and even about Samuel Gompers (President of the American Federation of Labor). Mr. Gompers was given the following section of the same issue to defend the unions and himself against the charge and innuendoes of the detective. He had been honestly mistaken, he contended, in his belief in the innocence of the McNamara brothers as had millions of people throughout the country. He insisted that he deplored violence but also argued that the activities of companies such as the National Erectors' Association, in fighting unions and protecting non-union help led to such acts of violence. And that, furthermore, the employment of private detective agencies by industry in its war against unions was not conducive to harmony between capital and labor.* For despite the insinuations of people like General Otis and Detective Burns, Samuel Gompers was poles away from advocating revolution or anything like it. He was, in fact, a champion in the defense of capitalism and sought only to improve (to the degree possible) the conditions of labor within the framework of capitalism. "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work" was his motto and the AFL advised its members to "reward your friends and punish your enemies" by voting for "friendly" capitalist politicians.

The arrest of the McNamara brothers came on April 23, 1911. James B. being taken in his office

* Although it is generally noted in histories of the case that Detective Burns was engaged by the City of Los Angeles or by the "Los Angeles Times," Louis Adamic claims in "My America" that he was hired by the National Erectors' Association because of the destruction of buildings and bridges since 1905 that had been built by non-union labor. (p. 31).

in Indianapolis and — according to Burns — not even asking the nature of the charge against him which was, to the detective, a tacit admission of guilt. John J., the actual dynamiter, who was allegedly paid for his service from a special fund of the union, was technically kidnapped by the authorities in that he was spirited out of Indiana and taken to California without proper legal procedures. It was this act, together with the fact that a third man, McManigle, confessed and implicated the McNamaras that caused so many throughout the country to believe this another frame-up. It was too much reminiscent of the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case a few years previously in the aftermath of the murder of the Governor of Idaho. And Clarence Darrow had successfully defended the accused in that case and had demonstrated the frameup in connection with it.

"IT'S A LIE"

Donations to the McNamara Defense poured in from all over the country; workers by the thousands demonstrated in support of the accused. Darrow had been compelled to abandon his practice in Chicago in order to handle the case, his fees were high and he required an expense account that could be dipped into at will. The defense claimed that a total of about \$200,000 was raised from the quarters and dollars of union workers and Socialist Party locals throughout America. Detective Burns claimed it was really more like \$2,000,000 and his implication was that much if not most of the money was never accounted for.

But despite the fact that Burns had hinted broadly that he had a holeproof case against the McNamaras and had become the Number 1 hero — displacing General Otis — of the nation's anti-union forces and, indeed, of most Americans, top leaders of Labor continued to denounce the case as a frame-up and Burns as a liar. The detective had hinted strongly that many prominent A. F. of L. leaders, including Gompers,

were implicated in the dynamiting plot. Gompers declared that "The whole affair smacks of well-laid prearrangement...to strike at the men having the confidence of the working-people." And Debs telegraphed to the "Appeal to Reason" (a Socialist Party oriented paper): "Arouse, ye hosts of labor, and swear that the villainous plot shall not be consummated! Be not deceived by the capitalist press!" And the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. officially appealed to the workers of America to stand by the McNamaras.

In fact, the only ones of the "great men" associated with the affair who seemed to believe that the "boys" really were guilty were Lincoln Steffens (who states as much in his Autobiography) and Clarence Darrow (who also is generally reported in histories of the affair as stating as much, privately at first, and openly in retrospect).**

"GOLDEN RULE" STEFFENS

The noted "muckraker," Lincoln Steffens, heard of the case while in London. He tells in his Autobiography of a talk with Keir Hardie who had read of the McNamara case in the English press. Hardie convinced him that he should go to Los Angeles and find out just why conservative organizations such as labor unions will hire dynamiters in their struggle with capital. So Steffens journeyed to California and immediately went to work to put a pet theory to the test. All that was needed, he believed, was to convert the Los Angeles capitalists to the principles of Christianity, that in this instance he could convince the heads

** In "My America," Louis Adamic recounts the tale of a contemporary comrade of Job Harriman, Edward Cantrell. This one-time Socialist Party lecturer contended that Harriman was in cahoots with a gang of union ("chemists") dynamiters from San Francisco and that he had known that the "Times" was due for a bombing, and just when. The Cantrell statements were supposedly documented, according to Adamic.

of industry in Los Angeles that the best way to end the continuing war with Labor was to sponsor a "deal" between the prosecution and defense in the McNamara case, that in return for letting the prisoners off with prison terms — or even possibly letting them go free — Labor could be convinced that it should cease its costly class war and all would be peace and harmony. He argued the Golden Rule to those rulers of gold.

One by one the hard-boiled capitalists of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association accepted the Steffens position that "a deal" should be worked out — even the prosecuting attorney, Captain Fredericks. The McNamara boys went along with the plan, claimed that they were interested only in the welfare of labor and James B. avowed that he was ready to swing for this principle. Darrow, who had at first been opposed, later showed interest in the idea of a settlement. The final plan as outlined by Steffens was: "pleas of guilty with no confession from J. J. and J. B. McNamara, a very short sentence for J. J., a life sentence for J. B., the abandonment of the pursuit of all other suspects, and an agreement to a labor-capital conference afterward."

FACTS BEHIND THE DEAL

But there was more, much more, than a desire to accept the "Golden Rule" behind the ready acceptance of the Steffens proposition by the tough Los Angeles capitalists. The problem was that a mayoralty election was set for December 5, that Job Harriman ("Socialist") was a seeming shoo-in, and that Mr. Harriman would be an uncooperative mayor in the struggle to keep Los Angeles an open shop town since he was also aligned with the labor movement in Los Angeles. In fact the name of the party had been changed to Socialist-Labor Party (no connection with the De Leonists). Job Harriman, an assistant in the McNamara Defense, had also just happened to be proclaiming since the bombing that the destruction of the building had actually been the fault of a leaky

gas jet, that the time bomb was apparently designed to do minimum damage to the property but had been coincidentally placed near the leaking gas. He claimed witnesses to prove that so bad was the leak and the gas odor that some employees had been forced to leave the plant the very night of the explosion. It was conceivable that a mayor such as Harriman might even order the arrest of General Otis on a charge of criminal negligence. Certainly, he might be expected to be unfriendly to some of the money-making schemes the leaders of L. A. industry were planning in connection with a proposed enlargement of water facilities.

Would the trial end before the election? If it didn't, the fact that it was widely believed by labor, generally, that the McNamaras were the innocent victims of a frame-up, Harriman was certain to win. Even if the trial ended before the election with a verdict of guilty, opinion would still be much the same and Darrow was carrying on his celebrated tactic of delaying the proceedings by rejecting prospective jurors. By November 15, some six weeks after the trial began, the jury box was only half full. Something had to be done, and quickly. The solution seemed to be to have the brothers plead guilty and before the election. Only that could derail the Harriman express.

But suddenly something else was added. On November 29, even while the final terms were being hammered out, Clarence Darrow was suddenly accused of passing money, in broad daylight, to an accomplice in an attempt to bribe jurymen. Both prosecution and defense employed spies and, generally, knew everything each side had up the sleeve and what each side knew about the other's information. It was quite likely that some of Darrow's spies were picking up some extra cash ("moonlighting") by counter-espionage. At any rate Darrow was hooked and the headlines in the following days made him look bad. It was not generally known that Darrow had been told of the im-

pending settlement deal that was being negotiated in Gen. Otis's office and would have no reason to employ bribery tactics.

DENOUEMENT AND AFTERMATH

On December 1st the figurative bomb went off in court. Steffens recounts how Darrow had informed his staff in advance — all but Job Harriman. How could he tell the confident "next mayor" of Los Angeles that he was about to lose the election four days before its scheduled date. That afternoon, to a jammed courtroom, James B. McNamara pleaded guilty before Judge Bordwell to the bombing of the "Times" and the killing of twenty-one men. "It was my intention," he said, "to injure the building and scare the owners. I did not intend to take the life of anyone. I sincerely regret that unfortunate men lost their lives." His brother, John J. pleaded guilty as an accessory to another dynamiting. The deal was consummated, but with somewhat stiffened terms. In fact, Lincoln Steffens states in his Autobiography that the "contract" between the capitalists and himself was all but renegeed on by the capitalists. Not too long afterward, two more men who were supposed to be forgotten by the prosecution, were arrested in New York by Detective Burns, sent to Los Angeles, tried, convicted and sentenced to life.

But the shock brought about by the "guilty" pleas was great. The streets of Los Angeles were strewn with Harriman for Mayor buttons and the "socialist" was roundly defeated — Los Angeles was "saved." There was a deal of speculation that the McNamaras had changed their plea in order to save Clarence Darrow from a prison term on a bribery rap. But Darrow was not made a part of the deal and Steffens recounts how elated the prosecutor was at the opportunity he would have to "get" Darrow, that this in itself was reward enough for having to make a deal. (Darrow was subsequently tried twice, winning both trials.) So there

was anger among the friends of the McNamaras and there was rage among much of the anti-union forces all over the country, indignation in the churches and in the press that the prosecution had not gone all the way. Steffens bemoaned the fact that the Christians had seemingly rejected Christianity!

VIOLENCE, GLORIOUS VIOLENCE

Capitalism is a violent society. In fact, capitalism glorifies violence. The enemies of organized labor have been quick to accuse unions of the use of violence yet it is not really violence *per se* that is objected to. Unions, generally, have supported the most frightful types of violence when authorized by the government in war, even though destruction is heaped upon their fellows in the "enemy" countries and the capitalists reward labor leaders for such support in various ways. Denunciation of or sanctification of violence will con-

tinue to depend upon whom and what such violence is used against. That is capitalism. Sabotage, dynamite, fire bombing, crop poisoning, murder — all good and noble and righteous when ordered by the capitalist class. A majority of genuine socialists can end this situation but not without the immediate abolition of the violence-breeding society, capitalism. Such was never the goal of the Socialist Party of America and its elected officials in city and state governments were never expected to do anything while in office other than carry on a system in the interest of the ruling class, in general. That the Merchants and Manufacturers Association in Los Angeles desired the defeat of Harriman in no way indicates that Harriman advocated socialism — only that Harriman threatened their personal, immediate interests. The only goal, of genuine socialists is socialism.

HARMO

SOCIALISM AND SELF INTEREST

Man, at times, seems to act irrationally. He seems quite willing to put on a uniform and go to the wars to which he is sent. He is equally ready to accept the deplorable conditions of peace he is given: a job of ramming fenders on cars and an unimaginatively rammed-together house in a noisy, air polluted and rammed-together neighborhood. Or, like most people, he may accept less and accept it without complaint. For this lot, he will sing hosannahs to the pillars of the community — the entrepreneurs — and their muscles of power: the police and the army. Those ignorant of the facts seem to act irrationally; they seem to act against their self-interests.

Yet, when given clearly explained alternatives, when allowed to consider them without intense propaganda pressure, people will usually act in accordance with self-interest. They will tend to say "yes" when it benefits them and "no" when it doesn't. They will not be gulled.

When they shop around for a new car, they look through the newspaper ads for long periods of time, compare the prices of several dealers and do some bargaining before they buy. They use this shrewdness in bargaining for wages. Rarely confused in these instances, they are generally aware of a conflict, and always try to benefit themselves. Perhaps it is because the issue is so close to them that they see it clearly. When their pockets are affected, they are always the Falstaff, never the Hotspur; always the Sancho Panza, never the Don Quixote; always the man of the wallet, never the man of ideals.

This is what we must bear in mind when we ask the question: why does the man on the street object to socialism? Precisely because he sees it as remote, opposed to both human nature and his self-interest. It will not, after all, make his pocket bulge. And why should he have to help someone who hasn't made out because he was too lazy? In these terms

he has judged socialism by the stereotypes he has been given, and he judges it as something requiring sacrifices of himself; something totally opposed to his self-interest.

The socialist realizes that altruism is not required, that there is enough to satisfy the needs of all. He knows that for the first time in recent history man is capable of transferring his attention from his pocket to the world that deserves his attention; he can become more than a money grubber. He can now serve his own interest rather than those who own his job. The socialist realizes all this.

FACT VS. FANCY

But not the man on the street. He fails to realize that under capitalism he is serving other interests, not his own. His failure is understandable. He is rarely given the opportunity to see things clearly: the truth he is looking for is rare. So rare is it that he soon finds it difficult to distinguish between fact and fancy. He is soon easily manipulated by his daily teachers — television, radio, newspapers. And these mentors have no difficulty in getting him to reject the murderers who rob banks as reprehensible; but by camouflaging the same act with euphemism or patriotic utterance, they make him accept murder in war as noble and part of the eternal scheme of things. It soon becomes a legitimate means for resolving some conflicts. Before long, he is translating the real conflicts with his landlord and his boss to the unreal one with the Vietnamese, thousands of miles away. He would be punished for shooting at the boss; he is rewarded for shooting at the Vietnamese.

But the camouflage must be effective to make him focus his hatred on a remote and invisible object. Statesmen frequently claim that when the individual serves the state (the capitalists' state), he also serves his own interest. This, of course, is an illusion. But again, camouflage persuades where bald fact could not. For example, in recent months,

McNamara, the American Secretary of Defense, proposed to increase the draft by accepting recruits who had previously been rejected on the basis of low intelligence test scores. The Boston Globe of August 28, 1966 paraphrases his speech:

"The Secretary's announcement that the army would accept 40,000 under-achievers in the draft aptitude tests and bring them up to snuff represents the culmination of a three-year effort to use the Army as a means of social betterment."

THE VIET FINISHING SCHOOL

"Social betterment" is the camouflaged way of expressing this intent. The accurate translation is that the under-achievers, largely the products of urban slums and the rural South, will be snuffed out; this social betterment will be accomplished by a finishing school located in the jungles of Viet Nam. The Administration knows this, but expressing it so blatantly would make it apparent that the Army is not a means of social betterment; and that the war is to be fought by every last member of the working class that the Administration can lay its hands on. So it tells little white lies and big white lies.

The big white lies are so big that their authors can at times successfully use them to persuade people to deny their self interest. The Boston Globe of August 21, 1966, reports President Johnson complaining to an audience in Lewiston, Maine about the demands of labor:

"Mr. Johnson told the several thousand in the audience, 'What America needs more than anything else right now is a strong dose of self-discipline.'"

President Johnson was asking workers to restrain themselves, to be content with what their employers were willing to mete out; and if these requests were not heeded, he threatened, "your government will be compelled to act in order to protect all the people." (Although Johnson appealed to management as well, we know that profits are larger than ever before; the plight of the capitalist class does not invite tears.) According to this statement, if the

workers ask for wage increases, the government will then protect "the people" (90% of whom are workers) from themselves. This tautology is obvious nonsense. What President Johnson does mean is that the government will protect the profits of the capitalists by blunting the one weapon the workers have for getting wage increases — the strike. Once again, the state's spokesmen cannot be too candid. They find it necessary to couch their chicanery in the language of newspaper virtues: self-discipline and protection of the people. Even when they ask their audience to act against self-interest, the politicians must make them believe that they are serving themselves.

ENLIGHTENED SELF INTEREST

The clear unadorned pursuit of enlightened self interest is a healthy pursuit. It forces man to explode any myth that may be used to thwart the satisfaction of his needs and frustrate his self-fulfillment. Pleas based on man's innate love for his fellows will not persuade him because he knows that man has no innate love for the tax assessor, for the rent collector, for the policeman. He realizes that when survival is at stake, one man will willingly tear another apart. If there is only a minuscule amount of bread, he will kill to get it, our self-kidding and TV heroics notwithstanding. This pursuit of self-interest (survival) is partly what drove human society to the stage of capitalism and permitted for the development of an advanced technology.

But if we do not channel this pursuit of self interest in certain directions, the technology that it was instrumental in creating will destroy us. What we must realize, and realize now, is that after a point in the development of human society, self-interest and social interest coincide. Where it was once necessary for man to act like a brute in order to survive, he now will be unable to survive if he continues to act like a brute. No longer does he have to

scrounge for food or to eke out a mere existence at the expense of others. There is now potentially enough to go around: we can satisfy our needs here and now. But to do this we will have to cooperate. We will have to see through the falsehoods that we consume with our daily breakfast. We will have to distinguish between the sacrifices we are asked to make (both when we work to accumulate wealth for others and when we go to war to protect wealth that is not ours) and our own self-interest. And when we do, we must be willing to commit ourselves to cooperative political action in our self-interest. This action involves the abolition of a class structure that frustrates us in various ways, and its replacement by a classless society that permits the pursuit of self-interest — a self-interest that might range from working at mathematical problems to restoring paintings, from planning new educational curricula to building the schools in which they will be used. The possibilities are infinite. Consider them.

G. GERELL

(Continued from page 2)

catastrophes are left to public appeals for collection of money, to charity, and invariably become beggars.

Incredibly enough, "civilized" man contrives, under capitalism, to use his technical skill and achievements for scientifically, i.e., human-controlled catastrophes as in war and other conflicts engendered by capitalist competition. Remember the destruction of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Stalingrad, Dresden, Coventry, Hiroshima, the devastation of London, Berlin and Vienna! And do not even these days in Vietnam, bombs designedly destroy dams and ponds to flood fertile lands and habitations? Considering the gigantic armaments existing and still being piled up on land and water, under water, and in the air all over the world, man would indeed seem to be the only creature to invite his own extermination!

In South-Tyrol also bomb-throwing by patriotic idiots has for years now been on the order of the day, until the terror was brought right to the heart of the capital city, Vienna. A bomb placed at the office of the Alitalia Air Travel Company on August 20th destroyed not only that office, but caused havoc in the neighborhood.

With constantly rising prices, much unemployment and more to come, the economic situation is precarious; in fact, a recession seems to be upon the country. "Tausende werden jetzt arbeitslos" says a headline in the Arbeiter-Zeitung, and whole pages describe the plight of workers facing dismissal in textile, mining, timber and other industries. Other concerns are cutting down and otherwise restricting production in "the very parts of Austria which are this country's most depressed areas." Talk of depressed areas in the Welfare State!

This being the tourist season, Vienna is swarming with visitors from all parts of the globe, including a Norwegian king and his retinue, and a delegation of 22 Indonesian ambassadors from Eastern and Western Europe, headed by Adam Malik (one of their three "strong men"). I learned from an interview given by Malik to a reporter, not only a confirmation of what "The Western Socialist" wrote (W. S. No. 3-1966), but additional details about the Indonesian massacre. To the reporter's question how it was possible to so suddenly destroy the Indonesian Communist Party, Malik said it was a spontaneous rising of the people. "And is it correct," the reporter further asked, "that since the 15th October 100,000 Indonesians were killed?" "Yes, some hundred thousands have been killed," Malik replied. Thinking that he had not properly understood, the reporter asked again: "One hundred thousand?" "No," Malik corrected. "Some hundred thousands." Obviously not only communists, but thousands of others were among the victims: children, women, mere suspects, Christians,

Chinese, and even creditors who were conveniently removed by their debtors. Could not the Police and Army do something against this mass amok-running orgy, an Indonesian diplomat was asked. "The Army," he answered, "They were always in it."

Our reporter concluded by asking himself whether this butchery could ever be forgotten? I would remind him of similar atrocious butcheries here in Europe. Of the Austrian civil war in 1934 and the earlier Vienna slaughters of 1927; of the Spanish Civil War of 1935-39, when 600,000 were murdered not by Franco's troops alone, but through the utter confusion, strife and hatreds that reigned among the "freedom-fighters" themselves (professed social democrats, communists, anarchists, etc.) And could revolutionary socialists ever forget the heroic Kronstadt sailors butchered in 1921 by order of Lenin and Trotzky for having dared to protest against the "betrayal" of the Revolution? And many more, even more recent slaughters such as the Palestine massacres in 1948, or those of East Germany and Hungary in 1956.

For, unfortunately, apart from revolutionary socialists, who never forget capitalism's crimes, capitalism's criminals, capitalism's statesmen and apologists, whatever they may call themselves, show everywhere the same moral calibre and aptitudes for strategy that will, cost what it may, keep their system of wage-slavery going. Vide Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt, Hitler, Tito, Mussolini, etc. Did not that blood-curdling monster Franco boast that he will triumph whatever the cost, "even if he had to shoot half of Spain?" And has not that other hypocrite Labour leader strategist Harold Wilson just declared that they cannot go to the Highgate Cemetery for the solution of their problems! No, they are all determined to stick to their strategy of keeping by all means within their infernal vicious circle of the capitalist jungle."

RUDOLF FRANK

RADIO SCRIPT ON "CHARITY"—DEC. 18, 1965

The commercial society in which we live, which is called capitalism, is widely regarded as the most acceptable form of society. Colleges and universities offer no alternative to it, even though they recognize that modern society was itself an alternative to a previous form. Respectable public figures scorn all suggestions of change, even though many of them agree that change permeates all things. Newspapers and the other mass media seldom present any reasoned argument for basic change, even though they boast of their dedication to progress.

Here is something to think about in this Christmas season: isn't it strange that those who find nothing seriously wrong with society, also find nothing seriously wrong with being periodically called upon to support the growing number of charitable organizations? There is surely something degrading about having to accept charity, and there is something sick about a society which finds charity a necessity. In a world of potential abundance — and yes, we live in such a world — it should not be necessary for any individual to degrade himself in any way for bread to eat, a coat to wear, a place to sleep at night.

Why is charity a necessity?

Working people in our commercial society produce wealth which belongs, not to them, but to the owners of the places where they work, to the owners of the means of production. A man who helps put together cars for General Motors knows that the cars he's making will belong to General Motors when they're finished. If the worker wants one for himself, he has to buy it with money saved from the wages G. M. paid him for making it in the first place. Wages are the price an employer pays for the use of the worker's labor power — they have no immediate relation to the value of the product created by that labor power. In general, working

people receive enough wages to buy what they need to keep well, and to have children who will be the working people of the next generation. And when they are too old to get wages any more, they may receive some benefit from the Social Security — which is in itself a reflection of society's social insecurity.

And even this token security is not for everyone. There are the weak and the widowed, the orphaned and the old — the chronically ill, the disabled, the unlucky, who depend for help solely on charity.

Now, how does humanity respond to this need? Why? we continue to deliver the great mass of wealth to the privileged minority who own capital; and to those in want, we give — Charity!

"Charity" is a Greek word for "love"; and the fact that thousands of people, themselves none too well off, are willing to contribute to charity for others is a good indication of how much love, how much fellow-feeling, we human beings really have for each other — in spite of the vicious tendency of our commercial system of society to keep us at each other's throats.

We, the vast majority, the working people of the world, we alone create the productive wealth of the world. We support on our backs a class of people who produce nothing, themselves, but who own the means of producing everything. And besides this, a few times every year — and especially now, at Christmastime — we are called upon to support those of our own number who are in need. They shouldn't need our support. They should have, in common with everyone else in the world, free right of access to all that we produce.

Critics of socialism sometimes accuse us socialists of expecting miracles — specifically, of expecting the human race to be altruistic. They say socialism won't work because of human nature. We say in reply: if, under capitalism, a man who has

almost nothing himself will freely give help to those in need, through charity — then surely, under socialism, when every human being will have all he wants and needs, no one will hesitate to do what has to be done to produce enough for everyone to live in plenty. This plenty is possible today. Only an insane economic and social system makes its realization impossible, and charity a necessity.

KARLA ELLENBOGEN

Adapted from our Leaflet No. 9

Radio talk in last issue was adapted from article by Gilmac entitled "What People Need."

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A PAGE FROM CAPITAL

It is a result of the division of labour in manufactures, that the labourer is brought face to face with the intellectual potencies of the material process of production, as the property of another, and as a ruling power. This separation begins in simple cooperation while the capitalist represents to the single workman the oneness and the will of the associated labour. It is developed in manufacture which cuts down the labourer into a detailed labourer. It is completed in modern industry, which makes science a productive force distinct from labour and presses it into the service of capital.

In manufacture, in order to make the collective labourer, and through him capital, rich in social productive power, each labourer must be made poor in individual productive powers. "Ignorance is the mother of industry as well as of superstition. Reflection and fancy are subject to err; but a habit of moving the hand or foot is independent of either. Manufactures, accordingly, prosper most where the mind is least consulted, and where the workshop may be considered as an engine, the parts of which are men. As a matter of fact, some few manufacturers in the middle of the 18th century preferred, for certain operations that were trade secrets, to em-

ploy half-idiotic persons." (J. Tuckett: "A History of the Past and Present State of the Labouring Population." London, 1846) (Capital, Vol. 1, Modern Library Ed. p. 397).

The men of knowledge and the productive labourer come to be widely divided from each other, and knowledge, instead of remaining the handmaid of labour in the hand of the labourer to increase his productive powers...has almost everywhere arrayed itself against labour...systematically deluding and leading them (the labourers) astray in order to render their muscular powers entirely mechanical and obedient." (W. Thompson: "An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth." London 1824 p. 274).

(Modern Library Edition, Vol. 1, p. 397)

Although there is a tendency for Industry, today, to require more and more the services of skilled workers, by and large there is still the general requirement for the unthinking, mechanical motion in both blue collar and white collar work. The worker is still, in Marx's words, "an appendage of the machine."

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. — **THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM**, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.
Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrollment in the Party should apply for Application for Membership from the sec'y of nearest local or the Nat'l Hdqtrs.

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